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# Economics of Immigration and Racial Discrimination: A Literature Survey (1970-1989)

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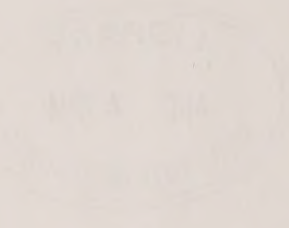
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The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

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Bookings of Immigration and  
Naturalization  
A Statistical Survey (1955-1965)

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## Executive Summary

Economics of Immigration and  
Racial Discrimination: A  
Literature Survey (1970-1989)

Ather H. Akbari

- . Several impacts of international immigration on the host nation have been identified in the literature. These include immigrants' impact on: income distribution, welfare, employment of native-born workers, international trade, and the use of social services.
- . When the income distribution effects of immigration are analyzed, it is found that capital owners gain as a result of immigration. This is because immigration causes each unit of capital to work with more labour. However, in a more general setting where impacts on output and prices are also analyzed, no significant impact is found.
- . Trade restrictions tend to lower the gains that host nations enjoy from immigration in the absence of such restrictions. This issue will gain its importance in Canada where both free trade and immigration are expected to play an important role in shaping the economic and demographic structure of the country.
- . By expanding domestic markets, immigration of foreign workers raises the volume of trade and hence the welfare of the host nation. In a capitalist economy, increased immigration can be considered equivalent to providing protection to the domestic labour-intensive industry. The output of the capital-intensive industry and the returns to capital owners rise by an amount greater than what would have been in the absence of immigration.
- . The impact of immigrant workers on employment of native-born workers depends on several factors. First, if migrants' skills are similar to those of native-born, native-born workers will lose employment. If migrants' skills are superior, they may lead to increased employment of native-born workers. Second, migrants may bring physical and financial capital with them and cause higher investment in the host country which may increase employment. Third, by increasing demand for goods and services, immigrants provide greater incentives for production activity which may have its spill over effect on the labour market in the sense that the demand for labour services will increase and hence more employment will take place.

- An empirical study on the employment effects of immigrants in the US shows some displacement of native-born workers by second generation and foreign-born workers.
  - Canadian studies on the impact of immigrants on employment of native-born workers provide a mixed evidence. Overall, there is no strong evidence to suggest displacement of native-born workers by immigrant workers.
- Immigrants use of public services and their financial contribution in the form of taxes have also been investigated systematically in literature. This issue particularly gained importance in the light of recent rise in Third World immigrant inflows into Canada and the U.S.
- A recent U.S. study that utilised 1975 data on the immigrants' use of public services and payment of taxes, indicates that immigrants generally use less services and pay more in taxes than the native-born group in the U.S. and permit a net tax transfer to the native-born.
  - A similar study for Canada that utilised 1981 Canadian Census of population data found that the positive impact of immigrants through public fund transfers is even stronger in Canada. When immigrants are desegregated by their place of origin, they may be ordered as follows in terms of their contribution: U.S.; U.K.; Asia, Africa, South and Central America; Western Europe.
- Increased incidences of racial discrimination may be considered a response by the host nation to increased supply of international immigrants. Therefore, any analysis of immigrant performance or their impact should account for racial discrimination.
- Immigration is expected to play an important role in shaping the future Canadian population pyramid and in the economic development of Canada. The 1967 abolishment of racially discriminatory aspects of immigration policy in Canada has given rise to an increased immigrant inflow from the Third World and this trend is expected to continue in future. As a consequence, issues of racism and ethnicity have become important in Canada.
- Discrimination occurs in the labour market if workers with equal preparation and productivity receive different wages.



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- . The "Residual Method" measures discrimination against a particular group as a residual after accounting for productivity differences with the reference group.
- . The costs of discrimination include a reduction of employer's profit and a loss of national output. Both of these effects are seen as social losses.
- . Literature lacks any quantitative estimated of racial discrimination in Canada, while such estimates do exist for the U.S. As these estimates shed light on the extent of discrimination, they are important for policy making. Such estimates can also be utilised to arrive at a cost estimate of racial discrimination.





## Introduction

The purpose of this survey is to provide a brief summary and assessment of the modern literature on the economics of immigration and racial discrimination.<sup>1</sup> The period of this survey is between 1970 and 1989 and it is based on all the entries appearing in various issues of the Journal of Economic Literature under the title "Index of Articles." The primary motivation behind this survey is to review Canadian and International research, since the 1970's, on (a) the costs and benefits of immigration and (b) methodology for identifying and economic impact of racial discrimination, highlighting key findings, relevant to Canadian multiculturalism policies, research gaps, and directions for future research.

## Economic consequences of International Immigration

Several impacts of international immigration on the host nations have been identified in literature. These include the impact on: the income distribution, welfare, employment of native-

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<sup>1</sup>It may be noted that only professional and published literature has been reviewed in this survey. Several reports and working papers on various aspects of immigration and racial discrimination have been prepared by various government departments in Canada. Given the constraints on time and also on the volume of this paper, those studies have not been reviewed here.

In addition, our emphasis in review of studies on racial discrimination has been on methodology for developing a quantitative estimate of racial discrimination in the labour markets, and on the economic cost of such discrimination for the society. Keeping this objective in mind, only relevant studies have been reviewed in this paper. A separate bibliography is provided listing other professional studies in the area of discrimination.

born workers, and the use of social services.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the relationship between immigration and international trade is also explored. The following sections provide a literature review on these issues.

### Income Distribution Effects

Under neoclassical assumptions, the income distribution effects of immigration can be analysed within the framework of partial equilibrium analysis and general equilibrium analysis. Under the framework of partial equilibrium analysis, it can be shown that immigration will cause income redistribution in favour of the owners of capital and against labour. Assume a two country and two factor (capital and labour) model in which capital is immobile and labour is mobile. In this model the motivation for a worker to move from one country to another is the higher wages in the country of destination as compared to the income earned at home.<sup>3</sup> However, the inflow of foreign labour reduces wage rates in the receiving country. This is because more intensive use of labour with the same amount of capital results in diminishing

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<sup>2</sup>Some discussion on the inflation and balance of payments effects of immigration is also found in the literature. However these were important issues in the late sixties and early seventies. Therefore the period covered by this study lacks discussion on these issues.

<sup>3</sup>Assuming that each factor is paid according to its marginal product, the higher wages in the recipient economy can be regarded as the cause of higher marginal product there.



returns to labour. This in turn reduces the marginal product of labour. On the other hand the marginal product of capital rises and all the benefits of extra output are enjoyed by the capital owner.

However under the framework of general equilibrium analysis the income distribution effects of migration are more complicated. Rivera-Batiz (1983a) has listed some of these as the output composition effect, international capital movements and the change in relative prices. The general equilibrium analysis in his paper assumes two factors, capital and labour with fixed quantities and two goods, X and Y with Y being more labour intensive. Assuming that relative prices for X and Y remain unchanged immigration in a country causes the labour intensive Y sector to expand. This is because the resulting increase in labour supply within the country imposes a depressing effect on the wage-rental ratio. This improves the relative profitability of investment in the Y sector. As a consequence investment in the Y industry increases. This causes an overall increase in labour demand. The increase in labour demand in turn tends to offset the earlier depressing effect on the wage/rental ratio. At the same time the returns to capital in the Y sector rise above their previous level because of the additional employment of labour in that sector. As a result of this, capital moves from the X to the Y industry and the X industry shrinks. Thus, it is concluded that in a general equilibrium model immigration will have no

significant impact on the distribution of income. This result also follows from the "Rybczynski theorem."

An important exception to the above analysis is found in a model with sector specific factors. For example, if capital is considered sector specific, then the capital released by the shrinking X sector can not be utilised with immigrant workers in industry Y. In such a case wages will decrease and rental rates increase thereby causing the terms of trade to deteriorate against the labour intensive product. Hence unlike the above case the distribution of income turns against labour.<sup>4</sup> Next consider the case where skilled workers are specific to only industry X and industry Y uses only unskilled workers. Rivera-Batiz's analysis suggests that mass migration of unskilled workers will cause wages for both skilled and unskilled workers to decrease and rental rates on capital to increase. The wages of skilled workers decrease because the initial impact of migrants is to increase rental rates in industry Y (due to diminishing returns on labour), inducing capital to leave industry X. With less capital to work with in industry X, skilled workers will have lower marginal productivities and thus lower wages. However, as Mutti and Gerking (1983) have shown, the extent to which this result

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<sup>4</sup>However as Sapir (1983) has shown, the impact on the welfare level of workers will depend on the consumption share of that good as compared with the elasticity of their wage with respect to the terms of trade. If the former is larger than the latter the welfare improves otherwise it worsens.



holds depends upon the elasticity of substitution between capital and labour in industry Y. In the face of increased rental rates in industry Y and declining wages for unskilled workers resulting from immigration, a high elasticity of substitution will mean capital movement from industry X to industry Y will be higher. This will depress the wages for skilled workers. Mutti and Gerking also show this result to depend upon demand elasticities and cross country differences in the productivity of unskilled labour. The price of the product which uses unskilled workers intensively goes down due to immigration because of a decline in the wage rental ratio. Thus its demand increases. In such a case a high elasticity of demand for the other product which uses skilled workers intensively implies that the demand for this product will fall. This impact will be higher if the initial wage gap for unskilled labour between sending and receiving country were smaller.

As to the impact on unskilled labour, Rivera-Batiz suggests that the effect on the size distribution of income depends upon how much labour an individual owns relative to capital and the individual's propensity to consume exportables. The more labour an individual holds relative to capital the more likely he is to be hurt by immigration. Similarly, the higher a person's propensity to consume exportables, the more likely his real income will be reduced by relative price disturbances. A more realistic analysis of

the income distribution impact of immigration will account for price distortions. In another paper, Rivera-Batiz (1983b) has shown that in the presence of tariff walls protecting domestic industry, immigrant workers will gain at the expense of nonimmigrants. This is because as immigrant workers get absorbed in an import competing industry the output of this sector expands causing imports to decline. This means that the tariff revenue collected by the government will decline. As a consequence, the non-immigrant population loses (to whom it can be assumed that tariff revenues were distributed) real income. Given that domestic output of importables is still produced at an artificially high price caused by the tariff, immigrants enjoy real income higher than their marginal product valued at international prices.

This excess of the real income of immigrants over their marginal product in the presence of trade restrictions suggests that trade restrictions tend to lower the gains that host nations enjoy from immigration in the absence of restrictions. This issue is of particular importance in Canada where both free trade and immigration are expected to play an important role in shaping the economic and demographic structure of the country.

#### Effect on Welfare

One approach to analyze the impact of immigration on economic welfare of the receiving country is to assess the changes in income distribution. This has been discussed in an

earlier section. Another approach in this regard is to study the impact on production. An important theoretical contribution in this regard was made by Bhagwati and Srinivasan (1983). They consider the impact on American GNP of the immigration of Mexican labour first in case of free factor mobility and then under quantitative restrictions on factor mobility. Both of these cases have been analysed separately under two different assumptions. First immigrants' welfare is assumed to be part of only foreign (Mexican) welfare. Second it is considered not necessarily part of only foreign worker. With the first assumption and under the case of free factor mobility it is shown that movement of either capital or labour or both (export of capital from and import of labour into the U.S) will tend to equalise wage rental ratios in both countries. This in turn will raise welfare in both countries.

The problem of determining optimal factor mobility arises in the case where quantitative restrictions are imposed. Bhagwati and Srinivasan consider two types of restrictions in this regard. Firstly, they consider the case where restrictions are imposed by the U.S. on immigration of Mexican labour and U.S. capital is strictly immobile. They find in this case that the U.S. will benefit by allowing labour to the



free immigration level.<sup>5</sup> This is because the more the domestic supply of labour increases due to immigrants the more the return to capital rises.<sup>6</sup> Thus if the U.S. were to restrict the flow of immigrants to a level below that under free immigration, it will lose the potential gain obtainable under free immigration.

Secondly, the authors consider a case where restrictions are imposed on capital mobility but labour is kept perfectly immobile. In that case the authors argue that the U.S. will benefit by restricting capital outflow below the free outflow level. As the U.S. capital flows to Mexico, the increased supply derives down the reward of capital in Mexico. Moreover capital's marginal return is below its average return there. The optimal export restriction on capital outflow will be at a point where the marginal return in Mexico equals its marginal product in the U.S. Later on in their paper, Bhagwatti and Srinivasan further add the possibility of levying a discriminatory tax on foreign labour. They argue that the U.S. will gain more by taxing Mexican labour than it would simply by restricting Mexican labour inflow to a level identical to that produced by the tax policy. An optimal (welfare maximizing) tax policy will be the one which

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<sup>5</sup>The free immigration level in this case seems to be the one at which wages are equalised in both countries. This is however not clear from the paper under review.

<sup>6</sup>Note that each unit of capital now has more units of labour to work with.

restricts immigration to the level which equates the marginal cost of Mexican labour supply with its marginal product in the U.S. In case where a 'perfectly discriminatory' tax policy is levied, i.e., a policy which taxes away all the gains from Mexican labour inflow, it is shown that the U.S. welfare will be at its maximum. Such a tax policy will tax each Mexican labour to extract the full difference between his American marginal product (= wage) and his Mexican marginal product (= wage forgone). The entire world gain of output in this case will accrue to the U.S.

Based on the above analysis Bhagwatti and Srinivason are able to obtain a ranking for the whole set of policy options. A perfectly discriminatory tax on labour inflow is ranked first followed by an optimal tax on labour inflow. Third in the ranking is the optimal tax-cum-restriction on capital outflow. Next in the ranking is free factor mobility. The policy of restriction on labour inflow is ranked last by the authors.

The above policy ranking collapses if it is no longer assumed that immigrants' welfare is part of only foreign welfare. This is because the population over which they were defined will generally differ. The authors of the above paper consider the case where Mexican migrants' welfare may be regarded as part of American welfare and argue that capital-export policies will affect the initial American population (i.e., native born workers) whereas the labour

quota and taxation policies will each result in different levels of immigration for Mexican labour.

The welfare implications of immigration have also been investigated by Rivera-Batiz (1983b). His paper assumes a two country, two good (tradable, nontradable) model with labour being the only mobile factor. The two countries are assumed fully identical in all respects except that the sending country (of immigration) is relatively more labour abundant and the receiving country is capital abundant. Residents of the receiving country are assumed to be engaged in the internal trade of goods that are internationally non-tradable. The presence of nontradables prevents factor price equalization between the two countries. As a result there will be incentives for immigration into the capital abundant country where wages are higher. Immigration of foreign worker in this case will increase the volume of internal trade. This is because the natives now have a larger market. Expansion of internal trade tends to increase welfare in the receiving country. However, there are some qualifications to this argument as made by the author himself.

First in light of his 1981 paper (discussed earlier), migration in the presence of rigid wages in the receiving country may actually decrease rather than increase the economic welfare of nonmigrants. This result is obtained due to increase in unemployment. Second, if the countries are large so that the prices of tradables are endogenously



determined, terms of trade changes may be involved. Third, presence of remittances may also effect the results of this analysis.

### **Trade and Immigration**

Developed capitalist countries have higher absolute labour costs as compared to their less developed trading partners. With the opening of trade one would expect that the comparative advantage in the capital abundant country will shift in favour of capital intensive industries and against those industries which utilise labour intensively. As a result, the competitiveness of labour intensive industries will weaken in the capital abundant economy. It is then important to investigate whether an immigration policy can be designed to protect the structurally weak sectors from competition when the capital abundant economy engages in international trade. Sapir (1983) investigates this issue.

There are two main conclusions emerging from Sapir's analysis. First, in an open capital abundant economy with sector specific capital, a policy of increased immigration can be considered equivalent to providing protection to the domestic labour intensive industry against foreign competition in the short run. Second, although in the long run the labour intensive sector loses its competitiveness in the international market, the output of the capital intensive sector and the returns to capital owners in that sector rise by an amount that is greater than what would have been in the

absence of immigration.

### **The employment effect of Immigrants**

Immigrant workers obviously increase the supply of domestic labour force. As a consequence, they are likely to have impact on the level of employment in the country. In addressing the issue, Greenwood (1983) identifies several factors which may determine whether immigration will cause an increase or decrease in the domestic level of employment. First, the skills of migrants relative to those of the population of the receiving area play an important role. If the relative skills of the immigrant population are superior to those of the native-born population, one of two impacts can occur. On the one hand, immigrants may displace the native workers thereby increasing unemployment amongst the native population. On the other hand, immigrants may create more employment through the increase in entrepreneurial activity. Second, migrants may bring physical and financial capital with them and cause higher investment in the receiving country which may help in reducing unemployment. Third, by increasing the demand for goods and services in the economy and hence the price level, immigrants may provide a greater incentive for production activity. This can have a positive spillover effect on the labour market in the sense that the demand for labour services and the wage rates will increase.

However an important weakness of Greenwood's paper is that it overlooks the fact that the employment effect of

immigration cannot be assessed in a distortion free economy. This is because in such an economy, unemployment in one sector caused by increase in labour supply will cause wage rates to decrease so that any person looking for a job will be able to find it and all unemployment effects will be voluntary. Rivera-Batiz (1981) considers this fact by analyzing the impact of immigration for the case where wages are partially administered in the recipient economy. In his analysis the recipient economy is divided into two sectors: a modern sector, which is involved in foreign competition, and a traditional sector. It is assumed that wages are administered in the modern sector while in the traditional sector they are determined by market forces. Immigration is treated as endogenous in the sense that it responds positively to any increase in the wage rate offered in the (distortion free) traditional sector. In such a model unemployment will rise as a consequence of immigration. This can be explained as follows: With administered wages in the modern sector, immigration will cause wages to decrease in the traditional sector. This will induce domestic workers to switch over to the modern sector where the relative wage has now increased. However, given a fixed wage in this sector, it can offer only a limited number of jobs. As a result, the workers leaving the modern sector either become unemployed or displace some workers in the traditional sector thereby increasing the national level of unemployment.



Rivera-Batiz's approach can be criticised on the ground that given flexible wages in the traditional sector, workers who become unemployed in the modern sector may either accept lower wages or be willing to move back to the traditional sector thereby further depressing wages there. The issue can also be considered in the light of Rivera-Batiz (1983b) where he shows that immigration expands trade between sectors within the recipient economy. In such a case we may expect the modern sector to expand thereby being able to employ the workers released by the traditional sector.

In order to investigate the effect of immigration on employment of domestic workers, an empirical analysis has been conducted by Grossman (1984) for the United States. She attempts to investigate the issue by estimating the elasticity of substitution between the stock of immigrants and the native-born work force in the U.S. For this purpose a production function has been specified in her study which has as its arguments native-born workers, foreign-born workers including both second generation and first generation workers, and capital stock variables.

The production function is estimated by first deriving factor equations for the four factors included in the production function. Data for 19 SMSAs for the year 1969 are used. The production function results are used to compute elasticities of substitution between various factors. Grossman's results indicate that second generation workers and

foreign born workers are substitutes for native workers. However, it should be emphasised that the second generation workers are found to be much more highly substitutable for natives than are foreign born workers. Moreover, recent immigrants substitute for second generation workers more easily than for native-born workers. Grossman's results also indicate that capital is a complementary input vis-a-vis all types of workers but more so with foreign born workers.

Finally, Grossman uses her model to assess the impact of a 10% increase in the number of legal immigrants who are employed in the U.S. This is obtained by using the marginal conditions for cost minimization by an individual firm, both in cases where wages are flexible (as in the long run) and where wages are downwardly rigid (as in the short run). It is seen that when all wages are flexible, a 10% inflow of immigrants induces only a  $\frac{8}{10}$  of a percent fall in native employment. The wages of second generation workers fall very little because, as mentioned earlier, second generation workers and other native born are highly substitutable, and firms replace natives with second generation natives. Because of capital's complementarity with natives, the price of capital does not increase as much when natives become unemployed.

Again when all wages are downwardly rigid (as possible in the short run), an increased supply of immigrants increases the immigrants' wage and lowers the price of capital. This occurs because the increased supply of immigrants induces

firms to substitute for the relatively cheap foreign workers. The wage of neither domestic worker can respond to slackening demand in the short run; therefore the entire adjustment takes place through domestic unemployment. However the computed elasticity figures indicate that the consequent increase in unemployment will be 1% for natives and 0.4% for second generation natives in response to a 10% rise in immigration. The wages of immigrants will increase by 0.2%. The price of capital will fall because of its complementarity with both types of native workers. However, it is found that there will be a net fall in the demand for capital. This results because a fall in the demand for capital caused by the increase in domestic unemployment is not offset by the increase in its demand resulting from a fall in its price. Firms substitute away from domestic labour so much so that there is an excess demand for immigrants at their old wage rate. Therefore to clear the market, their wages increase slightly.

The recent Canadian literature on displacement by Clark and Thompson (1986), Akbari and DeVoretz (1987, 1988) and Roy (1987) addresses the substitutability question in the Canadian labour market. The results are often inconsistent and thus a detailed assessment of both the methodological and econometric problems of each study must eventually be addressed. Suffice to note at this point that Clark and Thompson (1986) found Canadian immigrants to be in general substitutes for the extant labour force and complementary to capital. All



professional groups substitute for all remaining less skilled Canadian labour. In fact, the greatest degree of substitution occurs between highly trained labour and services or primary workers.

Akbari and DeVoretz (1987) in an economy wide study did not find any vintage of immigrants to be substitutes or complements to either native-born labour or capital. Economy-wide though, they did find that the native-born labour force did use capital as a complementary input. In fact the elasticity of substitution is found identical to that found by Clark and Thompson. However, via further disaggregation by industries (on the basis of foreign-born labour intensive) indicated significant substitution.

Roy (1987) used a different methodology to address the issue of immigrant and Canadian-born labour force in Canadian production function over the same period as Akbari and DeVoretz (1987). By disaggregating his data by country of origin and occupational groupings Roy detected some immigrant substitution for the native-born. Foreign-born labour from the U.S. is found to substitute for native-born labour. On the other hand, for specific occupations, European and Third World immigrants are both simultaneously complementary and substitute inputs across occupations.

To sum up, there is mixed evidence on the substitutability of foreign-born and native-born labour force in Canada.

## Immigrants' Use of Public Services

The recent change in the composition of immigrant inflows into Canada and the U.S.<sup>7</sup>, i.e., rise in Third World inflows, has made immigrants' use of public services a prominent issue. Simon (1984) found for the U.S., that on balance both old and new vintage immigrants used less services than they paid in taxes. When immigrants' use of services and payment of taxes is analysed by their length of stay in the U.S., it is found that after they have stayed for 15 years, immigrants begin to use slightly more services than the U.S. native-born population. On the other hand, immigrants' income and hence payment of taxes exceeded the U.S. native-born group after four years in residence. Thus, the net effect of these two phenomenon is clear; immigrants generally used less services and paid more in taxes than the native-born group in the U.S. and permitted a net tax transfer to the native-born.

Blau (1984) confirmed Simon's findings by concentrating on a more contentious 1975 sample of U.S. immigrants and only assessing their use of welfare payments. Blau again found that when the age distribution of the immigrant population is standardised, immigrant use of welfare services is not significantly different from the native-born cohort.

Akbari (1987) replicated Simon's study for Canada using data from the 1981 census of population. He found that in

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<sup>7</sup>Changes in composition of immigrant inflows into Canada by place of origin have been documented in Akbari (1987).

general Canadian immigrants paid more into the treasury than they consumed in the form of major tax funded services. This result obtained because immigrants used less services and/or paid more in taxes than their native-born cohorts. As in the U.S. case, only the older immigrants, i.e., those who came to Canada before 1961 consumed slightly more services. On the other hand, taxes paid by these immigrants greatly exceeded those paid by the native-born. Finally, for the recent immigrant stock (i.e., post-1971) tax payment only fell short of the native-born group in the last two years. The cross-over effect when recent immigrants overtake Canadian native-born tax payments however is six years or two years longer than in Simon's study for the U.S. In sum, almost all immigrant cohorts pay more in taxes than they use in services.

In another study, Akbari (1988) extended the above analysis by considering four immigrant groups defined by their place of origin. These places of origin include: the United States, the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and Asia, Africa, Central and South America (including Caribbean). Except for immigrants from Western Europe, all entry cohorts of immigrants of various world origins consumed less public services than the non-immigrant population in 1980. The pre-1970 cohort of Western Europe immigrants consumed more public services than the 1980 native-born population. All entry cohorts from the U.S. paid more taxes than the 1980 native-born population in Canada. Recent immigrants from the U.K.

paid taxes similar to the native-born population. Those who had stayed more than two years paid more. Immigrants from Western Europe and those from Asia, Africa, and South and Central America are found to "catch up" to the original residents of Canada in tax payments after the third year of arrival. Tax payment made by these groups exceeded significantly that of the native-born cohort after 10 years of residence. Asian, African, and South and Central American immigrants paid more taxes than the Western European immigrants. In the end, Akbari concludes that "overall, immigrant households from all the four world regions provide net benefits to Canadians through the public treasury. Immigrants from the U.K. provide the highest net benefits followed by the U.S. immigrants. Western European immigrants provide the lowest positive benefits. Net benefits from Asian, African, and South and Central American immigrants are nearly comparable to their U.K. and U.S. counterparts.

### Discrimination

Increased incidences of racial discrimination may be considered another important consequence of international immigration. With the recent rise in third world immigrant flows into Canada and the U.S., concerns over racism and ethnicity have gained importance in public circles. As discussed in literature (eg., Ehrenberg and Smith, 1988), discrimination has an economic cost. Therefore any analysis of immigrant performance or their impact should account for racial discrimination.



In the following sections , we provide a brief review of literature on the economics of discrimination. In particular, we focus on labour market discrimination and review the methodology to measure the extent of such discrimination. In the end, the possible consequences of labour market discrimination are also reviewed.

### **Discrimination Explained**

Discrimination can occur in many forms and places. If it occurs in the labour market, workers with equal preparation and productivity receive different wages. If it occurs among educational institutions, students of equal ability are treated differently and emerge from formal schooling with unequal educations. If it occurs in childhood, young children with equal potential are raised with quite different aspirations and attitudes. Discrimination can also occur in a variety of other settings: the housing market, various product markets, and treatment under the law.

The paper will analyze discrimination in the labour market. Of course other forms of discrimination are equally important and may also be related to the labour market discrimination. We shall lump all other forms of discrimination into a more general category and call these "premarket differences."

The literature defines current labour market discrimination as "the valuation in the labour market of personal characteristics of the workers that are unrelated to

productivity." This definition recognises that one's value in the labour market depends on all the demand and supply factors affecting marginal productivity. However, when factors that are unrelated to productivity acquire positive or negative values in the labour market, discrimination can be said to occur. Race and gender are currently the most prominent of these factors alleged to be unrelated to productivity, but physical handicaps, religion, sexual preferences, and ethnic heritage are also on the list.

Three points are worth noting about the above definition.

First, the emphasis in identifying discrimination is on measurable market outcomes, such as earnings, wages, occupational attainment, or employment levels. While prejudicial attitudes may be felt by members of one group towards those of another. These feelings must be accompanied by some action that results in a different market outcome for us to assert that discrimination is present.

Second, we are not concerned with the routine random differences in outcomes that are matter of chance. Rather, the concept of discrimination encompasses only those differences that are so systematic that they do not cancel each other out within large groups.

Finally, our definition of labour market discrimination suggests an operational way to distinguish between labour market and premarket factors that cause earnings differentials. Differentials that derive from differences in

average productivity levels across race or sex groups, for example can be categorised as premarket in nature. Differentials that are attributed to race or gender, holding productivity constant, can be said to be evidence of labour market discrimination.

It is important for policy makers to measure the relative size of labour market and premarket factors that lead to systematic earnings differential among various population groups. Any attempt to combat discrimination must be based on accurate information concerning the source of that discrimination; otherwise, effective antidiscrimination programs cannot be formulated. If the evidence points to a significant amount of labour market discrimination, programs aimed at employers and the hiring/promotion process may be effective. If, however, most of any systematic earnings differences related to race and gender appear to be rooted in premarket factors, then programs aimed at education, training, and the process of socializing children will be required.

### **The Measurement of Labour Market Discrimination**

Corcoran and Duncan (1979) illustrate the issues and techniques involved in measuring labour market discrimination. Corcoran and Duncan obtained U.S. data on the average wage rate, years of schooling, work experience, labour force attachment, geographical residence, and other variables for a sample of approximately 5,000 households and spouses in

1975. In their sample, the wages of the black men, white women, and black women were only 77 percent, 64 percent, and 57 percent respectively, of the wages of the white men. There are two possible explanations for these earnings differentials. One is that white men possess more of the characteristics associated with high productivity and high wages. Thus, one reason that white men earned more than black men is because they had nearly two more years of formal education (12.85 versus 10.96 years) and over twice as much on-the-job training in their current positions (1.69 versus 0.79 years). With respect to white females, years of formal education were nearly equal, but white females spent nearly 6 years out of the labour force compared to only one-half year for white men and, as with black men, accumulated less than half as much on-the-job training. A second explanation for the inequality in wage rates is discrimination in the labour market. As discussed previously market discrimination may take the form of segregation in low-paying occupations, unequal pay for equal work, or fewer promotions in the firm.

The task before an economist is to decompose the earnings gaps into that part due to differences in productivity and that part due to ongoing discrimination in the labour market. In their study Corcoran and Duncan used an approach pioneered by Oxaca (1973) known as the "residual method" of measuring



market discrimination<sup>8</sup>. The basic idea behind the residual method is illustrated in Figure 1. Assume that the only variable that determines worker productivity is years of education  $E$ , measured along the horizontal axis. The upward sloping line  $W(E_b)$  is the earnings function for, say, black workers; it shows the average wage  $W$  received by black workers possessing various years of schooling. The line  $W(E_w)$  is the earnings function for the white worker. The  $W(E_b)$  line has a flatter slope and lies below  $W(E_w)$  on the assumption that discrimination results in blacks receiving a lower wage for any given level of education and a smaller monetary return for each additional year of schooling. To begin the analysis, assume that white workers have on average  $E_w$  years of schooling and blacks on average have  $E_b$  years. The earnings function predicts that the wage received by the white workers is  $W_w$ , and that received by the black worker is  $W_b$ . The total wage gap between white and black and white workers is  $W_w - W_b$ . Part of this gap is due to the fact that blacks have a lower level of education and productivity than whites; the other part is due to the fact that blacks are discriminated against and receive lower wages for any level of education. Using Oxaca's approach, the wage gap can be decomposed into these two parts. The first step is to determine what wage would

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<sup>8</sup>This method is also known as "regression method" since it employs regression analysis to estimate an earnings function based on the human capital framework.

# The Residual Approach to Measuring Wage Discrimination

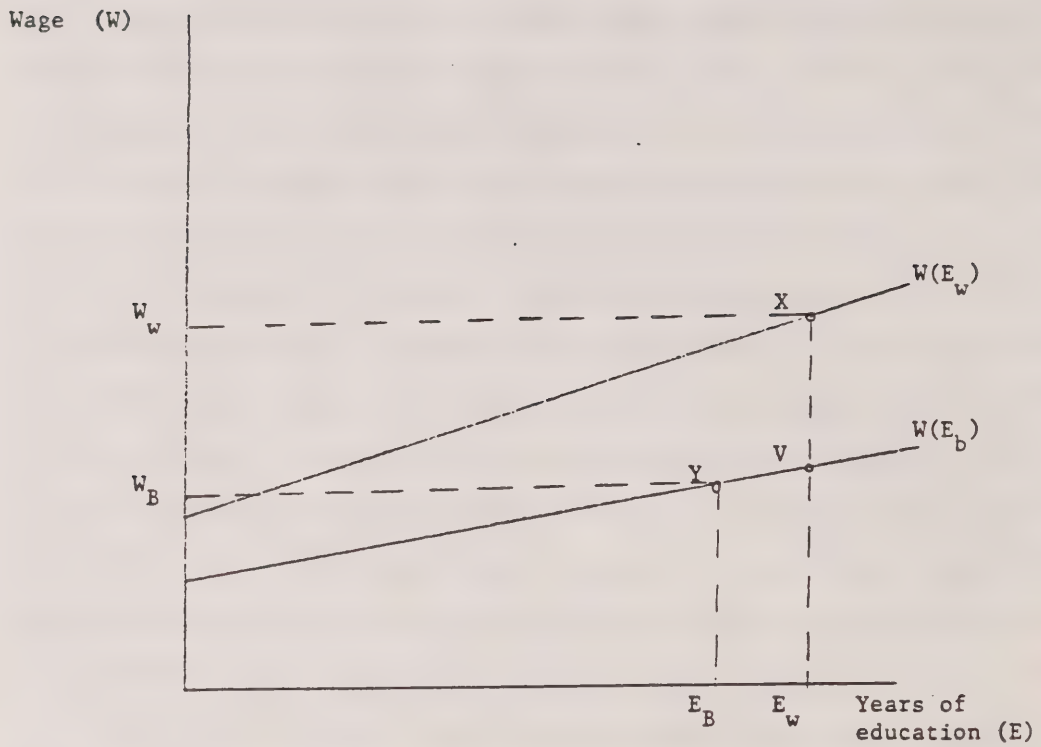


FIGURE 1

Source: Kaufman (1989, p. 421)

black workers have earned in the absence of discrimination, given their set of income-earnings characteristics. Oxaca assumed that in the absence of discrimination, blacks would receive the same returns to education as whites would. Using the white earnings function, the average wage of blacks, given an educational level of  $E_b$  would be  $W_b^*$ . Of the total wage gap of  $(W_w - W_b)$ , the portion of  $(W_w - W_b^*)$  is the result of the lower education level and productivity of black workers. The unexplained or "residual" amount of the earnings gap  $(W_b^* - W_b)$  is the amount that cannot be attributed to productivity differences and, thus, represents the portion of the earnings gap due to market discrimination.

#### Economic Consequences of Discrimination

In order to understand the cost of racial discrimination, it is necessary to first understand the motives behind discrimination. Three general sources of labour market discrimination have been identified in the literature, and each source suggests an associated model of how discrimination is implemented and what its consequences are. The first such source of discrimination is personal prejudice, wherein employers, fellow employees, or customers dislike associating with workers of a given race or sex. The second general source is statistical prejudgment, whereby employers project onto individuals certain perceived group characteristics. Finally, there are models according to which the desire for, and use of, monopoly power is the source of discrimination. While all

the models generate useful insights, we will present the personal prejudice model here, since its consequences are easy to measure.

### Personal Prejudice Model

#### Employer Discrimination

Suppose that white employers are prejudiced against blacks but that (for simplicity sake) customers and fellow employees are not. This prejudice may take the form of aversion to associating with blacks, desire to help white workers, or it may be motivated by status considerations. In whatever form, this prejudice is expected to result in the discriminatory treatment of blacks. Further, we assume for the purpose of this model that the blacks in question have the same productive characteristics as whites.

If employers have a decided preference for hiring white workers in high paying jobs despite the availability of equally qualified blacks, they will act as if the latter were less productive than the former. By virtue of our assumption that blacks employed are equally productive in every way, the devaluing of their productivity by employers is purely subjective and is a manifestation of personal prejudice. The more prejudiced an employer is, the more actual productivity will be discounted.

Suppose that  $MP$  stands for the actual marginal productivity of all workers in a particular labour market and  $d$  represents the extent to which this productivity is



subjectively devalued for blacks. In this case, market equilibrium for whites is reached when their wage ( $W_w$ ) equals  $MP$ . For the blacks, however, equilibrium is reached when their wage ( $W_b$ ) equal their subjective value to firms:

$$MP - d = W_b, \text{ or}$$

$$MP = W_b + d \quad (1)$$

Since the actual marginal productivities are equal by assumption, the above equations are equal to each other, and one can easily see that  $W_b$  must be less than  $W_w$ :

$$W_w = W_b + d, \text{ or}$$

$$W_b = W_w - d \quad (2)$$

What the above says algebraically has a very simple economic logic: if the actual productivity of blacks is devalued by employers, workers in these groups must offer their services at lower wages than whites to compete for jobs.

The model for employer discrimination has three major implications, as revealed in Figure 2, which is graphic representation of equation (1). The figure shows that a discriminatory employer faced with a wage  $W_b$  for blacks will hire  $N_0$ , for at that point  $MP = W_b + d$ . A profit maximizing employer, however, will hire  $N_1$ ; that is, where  $MP = W_b$ . Remembering that the area under the  $MP$  curve represents total product (or total revenue of the firm), with capital held constant, subtracting the area representing the wage bill of the discriminatory employer ( $OEFN_0$ ) yields profits for these employers equal to the area  $AEFB$ . Profits for the non-

discriminatory employer however, equal the area AEG. These latter employers hire blacks upto the point where their marginal product equals their wage, while the discriminators end their hiring short of that point. Discriminators thus give up profits, equal to the triangular area BFG, in order to indulge their prejudices. Since this area does not represent any redistribution within the society, it may also be considered a social loss.

Another implication of the above model is that the total output level is lower. While in the absence of discrimination, society enjoys an output level whose value in dollars is given by the area OAGN<sub>1</sub>, with discrimination this area reduces to only OABN<sub>0</sub>.

The above costs of employer discrimination in the labour market can be quantified by estimating the discrimination coefficient,  $d$ , and then by estimating the labour demand curve (which is the marginal product of labour curve) from available data.

#### Racial Discrimination in Canada

As noted earlier, the changing composition of immigrants by their areas of origin has raised concerns over the emergence of racial discrimination in Canada. Despite this concern, a systematic investigation of the issue and its impact on the Canadian society is lacking. Existing evidence is based on individual observations and interviews. Some evidence in this regard is provided by Bloria and Li (1984).

# Equilibrium Employment of Minorities in Firms That Discriminate

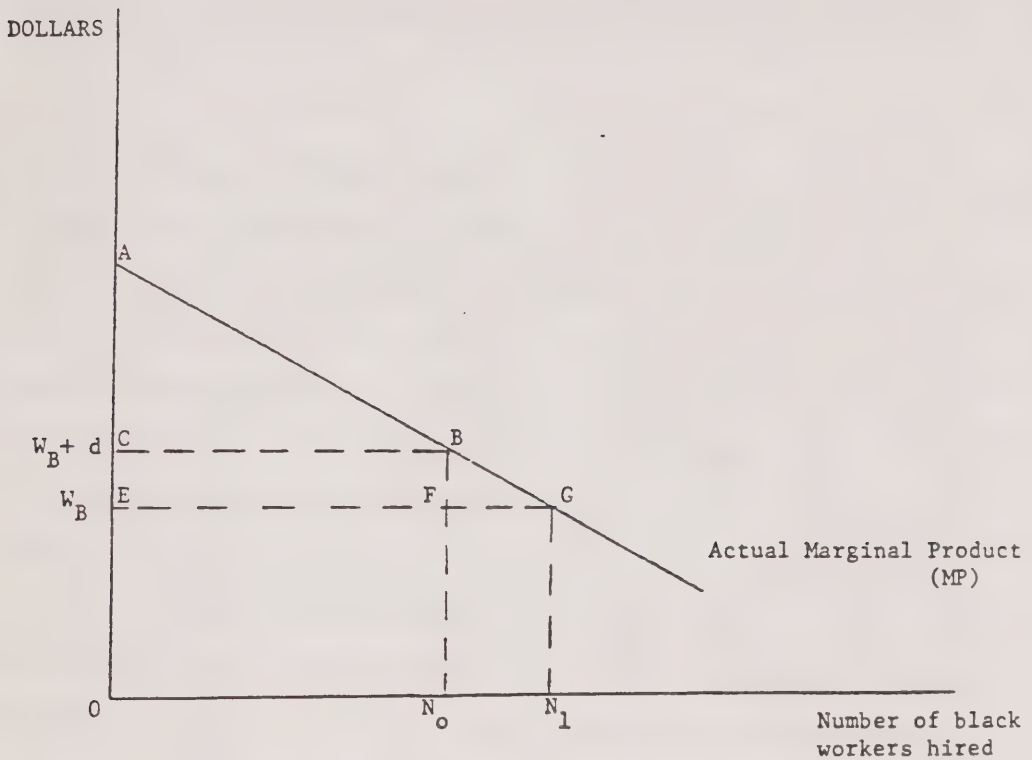


FIGURE 2

Source: Ehrenberg and Smith(1987, p. 546)

These authors have considered four major racial groups in Canada to investigate the presence of racism by white Canadians against those groups. Major findings of their study are summarised below.

### Chinese

Institutional racism against Chinese imposed various constraints on Chinese by making it difficult for them to compete with white workers and employers. The Chinese were gradually forced to retreat from the core labour market, and enter into a marginal labour sector which was characterized by a limited number of service occupations. The emergence of these ethnic niches in the Canadian labour market should be seen as response mechanisms developed by the Chinese towards the severe racial animosity of the larger society. Chinese family organization and community structure were also affected by restrictive immigration laws aimed at reducing the Chinese population in Canada. As discussed in Bloria and Li (1984), levels of discrimination against Chinese always persisted and remained as obstacles for Chinese as they ventured into the larger Canadian society.

### Japanese

As discussed in Bloria and Li "Despite the contributions of Japanese Canadians to the development of many industries in Canada, they were never considered by the Canadian government or the public as full citizens. In fact, they were treated as second class workers suitable to perform menial



tasks because of their race. The internment of innocent Japanese Canadians during the Second World War indicates how easy it was for the Canadian government to suspend civil liberties of racial minorities for no apparent reason. The action was premised on the same racial ideology of exploitation which considers that racial minorities are inferior, and that therefore it is justifiable to use extreme measures in dealing with them. The internment permitted the state to allocate about 21,000 labourers to work on agricultural and construction projects which would otherwise have been difficult to complete because of labour shortages. This action had the double result of reaping important economic benefits from the Japanese Canadians, and permitting the dominant group to reaffirm racial supremacy in a society which exploited racial minorities as second-class workers.

### **East Indians**

The east Indian workers have historically provided Canadians a source of cheap labour. Overall, these workers tend to be concentrated in the secondary market (Wong, 1984). These workers face extreme exploitation which may be in part because of the nature of their work and in part due to racism. The extent of racist element in their exploitation need to be measured.

### **Blacks**

The current black population in Canada arrived mainly

after the Second World War, as the immigration policy was relaxed to accommodate the increased demand for skilled labour in the post-war industrial expansion. Despite their higher educational and occupational levels as compared to other Canadians, the income levels for Blacks remained low which has been cited by Bloria and Li (1985) as racial discrimination against Blacks in jobs, promotions, housing, and social services.

### Conclusions

While the costs and benefits of international immigration in Canada have been systematically investigated, a systematic investigation on the issue of racial discrimination, in particular on its cost to the Canadian society, is still lacking. In the wake of declining population growth in Canada immigration is expected to play an important role in shaping the future Canadian population pyramid. With the abolishment of racially discriminatory aspects of Canadian immigration policy in the mid 1960s, the composition of immigrant flows has shifted away from the traditional predominantly "white" source regions. This shift is expected to continue into the future, especially in the light of distressed political and economic conditions in third world countries. As a consequence, racism and its costs should be important topics to study in Canada.

Existing evidence that is based on individual observations and interviews, indicates the presence of discrimination against certain racial groups in Canada. A systematic investigation of the

issue is essential to avoid any ambiguity in the conclusion of previous studies. Also, a quantitative estimate of the presence of discrimination and its resultant economic cost can help formulate an appropriate policy response.





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## APPENDIX

### THE MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINATION

The basic tool used in measuring wage discrimination is the human capital earnings function. To begin, assume that there are group W and group B workers. The hourly earnings of workers in each group can then be expressed as

$$\begin{aligned} \ln w^W &= a^W + B^W X^W \\ \ln w^B &= a^B + B^B X^B, \end{aligned} \tag{A.1}$$

where  $X$  is a vector of all those variables that affect worker productivity (for example, years of education, experience, and ability). The average difference in wages between the two groups can be determined by calculating

$$\begin{aligned} \ln \bar{w}^W &= a^W + B^W \bar{X}^W \\ \ln \bar{w}^B &= a^B + B^B \bar{X}^B. \end{aligned} \tag{A.2}$$

where  $\bar{w}$  and  $\bar{X}$  are average values of the relevant variables. The wage differential  $\ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \bar{w}^B$  is the total wage gap between group W and group B workers (the distance  $W_w - W_b$  in Figure 2). The objective is to decompose this difference in wages into the parts due to productivity differences and to discrimination.

On the assumption that in the absence of discrimination both group W and group B workers would be paid according to the W earnings function, the non-discriminatory wage for group B workers  $\hat{w}^B$  is

$$\ln \hat{w}^B = a^W + B^W \bar{X}^B. \tag{A.3}$$

The wage gap in  $\ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \bar{w}^B$  can then be decomposed as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \bar{w}^B &= (\ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \hat{w}^B) + (\ln \hat{w}^B - \ln \bar{w}^B) \\ &= [(a^W + B^W \bar{X}^W) - (a^W + B^W \bar{X}^B)] + [(a^W + B^W \bar{X}^B) - (a^B + B^B \bar{X}^B)] \\ &= [B^W(\bar{X}^W - \bar{X}^B)] + [(a^W - a^B) + (B^W - B^B)\bar{X}^B]. \end{aligned} \tag{A.4}$$

(1)
(2)

The first part of Equation A.4 represents the nondiscriminating part of the wage differential (the difference in productivity characteristics  $X$ ), and part (2) represents the part due to discrimination (the difference in coefficients). In terms of Figure 2, part (1) equals the distance  $W_w - W_b^*$ ; part (2) equals the distance  $W_b^* - W_b$ . Dividing part (2) by the total wage differential yields the proportion of the wage gap due to discrimination.





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The wage gap in  $\ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \bar{w}^B$  can then be decomposed as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \bar{w}^B &= (\ln \bar{w}^W - \ln \hat{w}^B) + (\ln \hat{w}^B - \ln \bar{w}^B) \quad (A.4) \\ &= [(a^W + B^W \bar{X}^W) - (a^W + B^W \bar{X}^B)] + [(a^W + B^W \bar{X}^B) - (a^B + B^B \bar{X}^B)] \\ &= [B^W(\bar{X}^W - \bar{X}^B)] + [(a^W - a^B) + (B^W - B^B)\bar{X}^B]. \end{aligned}$$

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